DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 211 398 SO 013 763

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TITLE Understanding Chinese-American Relations.
INSTITUTION Michigan Univ., Ann Arbor. Project on East Asian Studies in Education.
PUB DATE 81
NOTE 50p.; For related documents, see SO 013 762-769. Maps throughout document may not reproduce clearly from EDRS in microfiche or paper copy due to small print type.
AVAILABLE FROM Project on East Asian Studies in Education, 108 Lane Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109 ($2.20 plus postage).

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Asian History; *Asian Studies; *Chinese Culture; Comparative Analysis; Foreign Policy; *International Relations; Learning Activities; Secondary Education; Stereotypes; Units of Study
IDENTIFIERS *China; *United States

ABSTRACT

This three-part unit on the history of Chinese-American relations is intended for use with secondary students. Each of the three segments of the program requires about one hour of teaching time. Objectives of the unit are to help students: (1) become aware of the problems of cultural barriers and cultural stereotypes as illustrated through the history of Chinese-American relations; (2) gain a greater understanding of the place of China in world civilization; and (3) learn the basic outline of the history of Chinese-American relations. The three parts of the unit are: The Problem of Cultural Stereotyping; China and the West; A Brief Comparison; and Chinese-American Relations in Historical Perspective. Each unit contains teacher instructions and student exercises and activities. Some examples include the following. Students critique and discuss a film which examines the history of American attitudes toward China and the Chinese. In another activity, students are given a list of adjectives used in a Gallup Poll surveying American opinions about the character of the mainland Chinese and asked to write a "c" after the words they would choose to describe the people of the People's Republic of China. Other activities involve students in studying and analyzing maps and timelines and critiquing and discussing a filmstrip which provides an historical perspective to Chinese American relations. (Author/RM)

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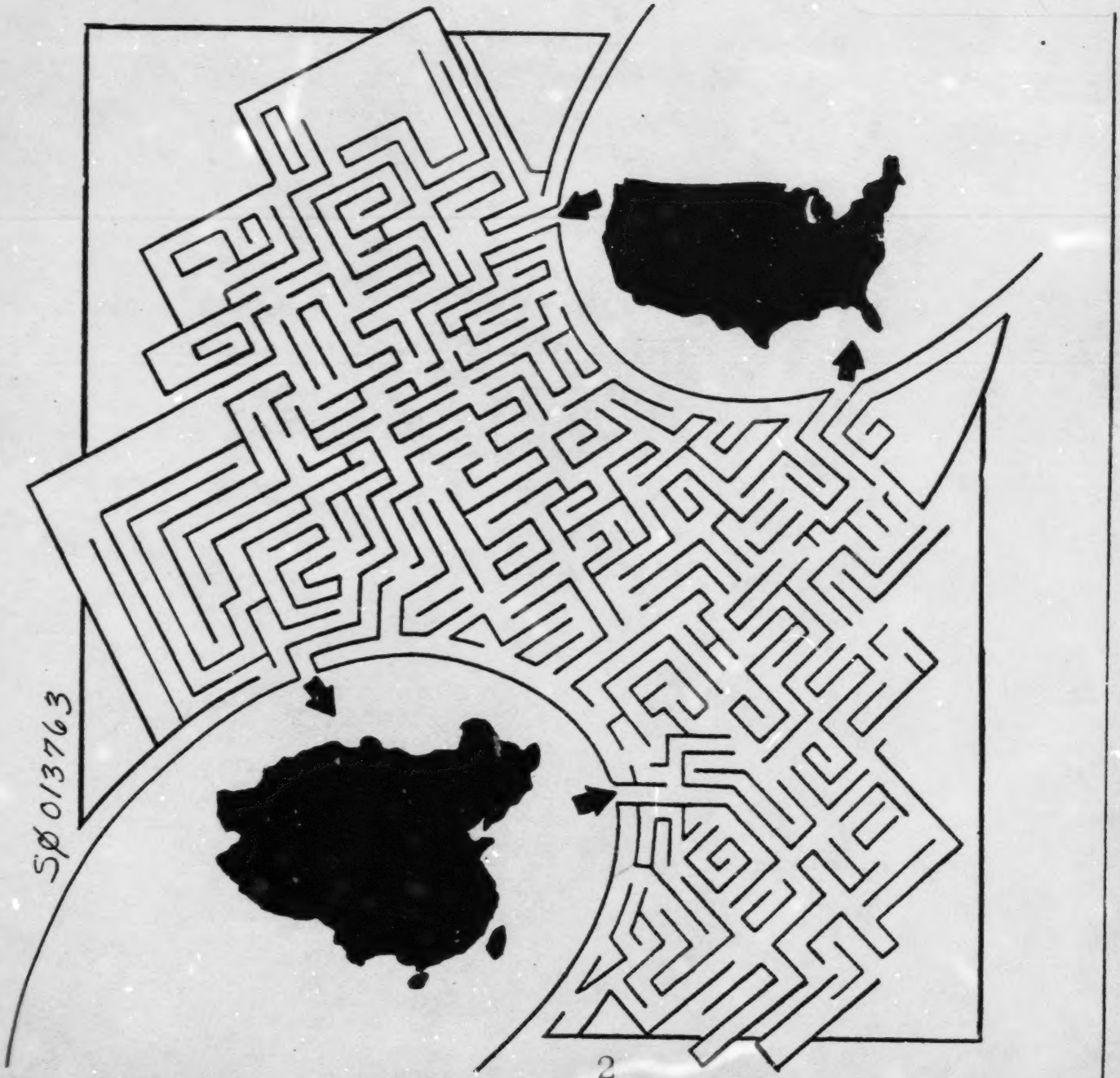
# UNDERSTANDING CHINESE-AMERICAN RELATIONS



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EDUCATIONAL UNIT ON CHINESE-AMERICAN RELATIONS

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**Filmstrip presentation is geared to accompany Filmstrip #4:

The Historical Legacy from *Perception/Misperception: China/USA*

(Tarrytown, NY: Warren Schloat Productions, 1975)

TEACHERS' INTRODUCTION

This is a three part unit on the history of Chinese-American relations. We have tried to provide a well integrated package that still leaves room for some flexibility. Teachers should be able to adjust the unit to the needs and interests of their students and to the particular conditions in which they work. Regardless of how it is used, teachers and students should pursue the following objectives:

1) The unit should improve the students' awareness of the problems of cultural barriers and cultural stereotypes, as illustrated through the history of Sino-American relations.

2) The students should gain a greater understanding of the place of China in world civilization. This does not mean that we are trying to explain the whole of Chinese history. But, in order to make some sense out of Sino-American relations, the students should have some familiarity with the forces that have shaped China and conditioned its interactions with the Western world.

3) Finally, the students should learn the basic outline of the history of Sino-American relations. In this area, we emphasize important themes and chronological patterns rather than an exhaustive listing of names and dates.

We hope that this package will facilitate your exploration of Sino-American relations. If you and your class pursue the goals outlined above, you should receive two kinds of benefits. First, you will have better understanding of the legacy of the past two hundred years of contact between China and America. Second, you and your students should have gained a broader perspective on the issues that are at the center of present day Chinese American relations. As the United States and China try to rebuild a basis for understanding and interaction after thirty years of Cold War hostility, the lessons of the past will have an important bearing on the questions of the present.

Each of the three segments of this program should take approximately one hour. Since the problems of images and stereotypes have been so important in Sino-American relations, we have tried to incorporate visual teaching aids through-out the project. There are also exercises designed to draw the student in as an active participant, rather than only as a passive observer. At the beginning of each part, a Teachers' Introduction explains the particular tools and objectives for that segment of the unit. All Chinese names are rendered in accordance with the Pinyin system of romanization, which is briefly explained in Part II, except for some well-known ones like Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung.

## PART I: THE PROBLEM OF CULTURAL STEREOTYPING

### Teachers' Introduction

Part I is addressed to our first objective: sensitizing the students to the problems of cultural barriers and prejudices. We set the stage with a short metaphor, the Story of Mei ling, which we hope will start students thinking about the issue of cultural prejudices. In this instance, we have reversed the more commonly described roles by making the white Anglo-Saxon American the butt of racial jokes and slurs, rather than the Chinese. We hope that this simple device will be useful in prodding the students into a consideration of these issues. It should help to introduce a discussion on the pervasity of cultural stereotyping and the barriers to communication and understanding that are so often a part of cross-cultural relations.

The teacher should begin by simply reading the story. It might be followed by a very brief discussion along the following lines: "Are we like the Chinese children in this story, or are we more open and tolerant? Do Americans really have funny looking noses? Do Chinese?" The teacher should move quickly to the preliminary exercises and discussions to gather some concrete evidence on the attitudes of the class members. The teacher should be ready to show the film "Misunderstanding China" as soon as the preliminary exercises are done. The film is 52 minutes long, divided into two reels. Depending on the length or the flexibility of your class periods, you may wish to show the first reel one day, and the second reel the next day, followed by discussion.

The preliminary exercises and the suggestions for watching and discussing the film were prepared by the San Francisco Bay Area China Education Project (BAYCEP).

A. The Story of Mei ling

Sometimes children can be the cruelest people of all. Without meaning any harm, they can humiliate or anger their playmates by making fun of the way they look or act. One day a group of youngsters made up a game in which they mimicked the peculiar appearance of one of their neighbors. They ran about laughing and pointing at the child who had the misfortune of being different. They pulled at their noses to make them longer; they pushed at the skin around their eyes and the tops of their noses to make crude imitations of their neighbor's looks. Finally, the child who was the object of their ridicule ran home crying. At just about that time, one of the neighborhood women came out and scolded the children for their cruel game. She grabbed her own daughter and shook the child until she stopped laughing. "Mei ling! Mei ling, you must stop this at once! I have told you a thousand times not to make fun of that little boy. He can't help it if he's American and he looks funny. Some people are just different. Remember, it takes all kinds to make a world!"

The little children were Chinese. Mrs. Jiang had seen them contorting their faces in comic imitation of the American. The top of a Chinese person's nose is considerably flatter than an American's and their noses are generally smaller. Nor are Chinese eyes nearly so round as ours. The foreigner among them was the son of a missionary who had recently come to their village in Taiwan. Since they couldn't speak English and he couldn't speak Chinese the American seemed all the more strange. It wasn't long before the Chinese started making fun of the newcomer who seemed so ugly; so unnatural looking.

Over a period of time, however, the village children accepted their visitor. They learned a little English in the village school and the American picked up a smattering of Chinese. After awhile, they were able to play together happily without worrying about differences of appearance and culture. Along with their capacity for being unintentionally cruel, children are frequently blessed with the virtue of being adaptable and open to new experiences.

While many youngsters are spared the vice of deep-rooted, unyielding prejudices, time and environment frequently create pressures that contribute to the development of bigotry and misunderstanding. Sometimes those feelings are narrowly focused on an individual or a small group of people. But all too often we project our bigotry to an entire race or an entire country.

Perhaps the best that we can do is to be on guard against unfair stereotypes in our own minds. First we must learn to respect and understand and accept those who are different. In the history of Chinese-American relations, people on both sides of the Pacific have been far too willing to substitute myths for facts. So, as a first step toward a better understanding of Chinese-American relations, let's take a quick look at ourselves: what do we really know about China and the Chinese? What are our preconceptions and misconceptions about the people of Asia?

# "MISUNDERSTANDING CHINA"

Bay Area China Education Project (BAYCEP)

## INTRODUCTION

This short unit is designed around the use of the CBS film "Misunderstanding China" which examines the history of American attitudes toward China and the Chinese. Besides being an excellent introduction to a unit on China itself or on United States-China relations, the film can be used in any context where exploring stereotypes is relevant. While the case in point is China, discussion of the film can profitably be related to stereotypes of other racial minorities in the United States or the general impact of stereotypes on American foreign relations.

The following description of the film is taken from CHINA: A RESOURCE AND CURRICULUM GUIDE, edited by Arlene Posner and Arne de Keijzer (University of Chicago Press, 1973):

> An excellent historical presentation of how Americans have viewed China, relying upon clips from old films, illustrations from comic books and texts, and other sources that generally presented China to Americans as quaint, ruthless, elegant, impoverished, and, of course, inscrutable. The film uses considerable newsreel footage taken during China's war with Japan and builds to a very candid and often harsh description of the weakness and collapse of the Nationalist armies and the success of Mao's revolution. This eclectic documentary was designed specifically to make us reassess our view of China. Intelligently prepared as a network TV special as background for President Nixon's visit to China in February, 1972.

## PRELIMINARY EXERCISES AND DISCUSSION

Below are two alternative exercises dealing with stereotypes of China which can be used as an introduction to the film. The point of these exercises is to start the students thinking about their own attitudes toward and images of China and the Chinese. The preliminary exercises and discussion each take about 15-20 minutes and should be run immediately prior to the showing of the film. In schools where the film is to be shown to a large group of students together in an auditorium or multi-purpose room, teachers may want to run the exercises in their individual classrooms on the day before the showing of the film.

Alternative Exercise #1: The teacher (or a student) asks the class to divide a piece of paper into two sections. He or she then asks the class to list the first three things that come immediately to their minds when they hear (or see on the blackboard) the word "CHINA". Using the other section of the paper, the process should be repeated using the word "AMERICA".

The teacher might then collect the papers and tabulate the results while the students are watching the film. After the film or between the first and second reels (if shown on separate days), the teacher can announce the results to the class by listing the most frequent and/or interesting responses on the blackboard. Alternatively, the teacher can ask the students to voluntarily read their responses to the exercise out loud while the teacher keeps track of the frequency of responses by making a stereotype "scoreboard". The advantage of this second method is that it carries the discussion one-level further prior to the viewing of the film.

In either case, follow-up discussion should focus on discerning patterns in the responses to the exercise. How do responses to the word "CHINA" differ from those to the word "AMERICA"? What categories of responses appear in the China section, e.g. racial ("yellow"), political ("communist"), exotic/cultural ("chopsticks"), food ("rice"), population ("lots of people"), etc.? In what ways are such categories "stereotypes"? It might be pointed out here that stereotypes almost always contain at least a kernel of truth. Ideas and images become stereotypes when they are taken as the whole truth. For example, no one denies that rice is one of the most important food crops of China. But Chinese cuisine is as varied as that of any place else in the world; and rice, in fact, is a staple food only in the south of China. The diet of North China makes much greater use of wheat (millet) and noodles than it does of rice. Yet the dominant American stereotype is of the "Chinaman" and his rice bowl.

Alternative Exercise #2: The teacher should ditto lists of the following adjectives used in a Gallup Poll surveying American opinions about the character of the "mainland" Chinese:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| -hardworking | -religious | -brave |
| -ignorant | -sly | -radical |
| -intelligent | -artistic | -aristocratic |
| -warlike | -cruel | -unimaginative |
| -progressive | -practical | -honest |
| -treacherous | -ordinary | -lazy |

The teacher gives a list to each student and asks the students to write a "C" after the words which they would choose to describe the people of the People's Republic of China. As in Alternative Exercise #1, the results should be tabulated to show the frequency with which different adjectives were chosen.

The teacher may also ask the students to repeat the exercise, this time choosing the words which they feel describe the United States. Again, this exercise provides the opportunity to compare responses between the U.S. and China. Students may find it difficult to assign one value such as "hardworking" to the U.S. which they know intimately, while they are able to assign such a general value to China. This can raise for discussion the fact that we tend to view other countries as totalities, i.e. in stereotypes, while recognizing the differences among classes and individuals in our own country. If Alternative Exercise #1

is used, this tendency may appear in the fact that responses to the word "AMERICA" may show a much greater variety than those chosen for "CHINA".

The following information may be useful in a class discussion of responses to Alternative Exercise #2. After President Nixon's trip to China in 1972, the Gallup Poll surveyed American public opinion about the character of the "mainland" Chinese. The survey was similar to one made in 1966 when U.S.-China relations were still stuck in the Cold War freeze. The change in American attitudes between 1966 and 1972 was startling:

| | 1966 (%) | 1972 (%) | | 1966 (%) | 1972 (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| hardworking | 37 | 74 | ignorant | 24 | 10 |
| intelligent | 14 | 32 | warlike | 23 | 13 |
| progressive | 7 | 28 | treacherous | 19 | 12 |
| religious | 14 | 18 | sly | 20 | 19 |
| artistic | 13 | 26 | cruel | 13 | 9 |
| practical | 8 | 27 | ordinary | 12 | 15 |
| brave | 7 | 17 | radical | 9 | 8 |
| honest | ½ | 20 | unimaginative | 7 | 7 |

(NOTE: Alternative Exercise #2 was adapted from an interesting section on China in de school primer no. 6 published by Zephyros Educational Exchange, 1201 Stanyan Street, San Francisco. Zephyros is "a non-profit collaborative of San Francisco teachers, parents, and artists.")

As stated above, the principal objective of the preliminary exercise and discussion is to begin to make the student aware of his or her own beliefs and images of China and to prime the student for thinking about and discussing the general issues of stereotypes and racism. Some type of introductory discussion is essential (whether along the lines suggested here or in any fashion more suited to the needs of a particular teacher and classroom) not only to maximize the effectiveness of the film, but, indeed, to prevent the film from becoming counterproductive. The film contains many excerpts from newsreels, old movies, and comic books which, we have learned through experience, can create new or reinforce old stereotypes if the students are not prepared to look at the film's contents in a critical way. Our hope--and the objective of the film and this unit--is that students will come away concerned about the effect of a "Fu Manchu" on people's attitudes, not feeling how "neat" Chinese torture is. Not only is a preliminary discussion very important to this end, but the teacher might also find it helpful to remind the students immediately before the film starts to pay attention to the narration as well as to the images on the screen.

## SHOWING "MISUNDERSTANDING CHINA"

1. For information on the availability of the film, see the final section of this unit.

2. The film is 52 minutes in length; one reel is 32 minutes, the other 20 minutes. The two reels can be shown at one or two sittings depending on the time constraints of class or assembly scheduling. However, it should be noted that the two reels do not represent two distinct parts of the film. Therefore, if the film is shown on separate days, the teacher might prompt the students' memory on the second day by asking them to summarize the first reel and/or describe where the first reel left off.

3. After the film (or between the two reels), we suggest that the teacher who has tabulated the results of the stereotype exercise announce the results to the students and ask for reactions and comments. This can serve as a transition to the follow-up discussion during the next class.

4. An effective "launching pad" for discussion based on the film can be found in the very last part of the film itself. As a background to the film credits, the producer has used a scene from the movie "55 Days at Peking." This scene shows Charleton Heston as an American cavalry officer riding out of Peking with his troops after the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. At one point along the road, Heston spots, amidst the onlooking crowd, a little Chinese girl whom he had earlier befriended after her parents were killed during the Rebellion. The little girl is obviously afraid that her American friend is going to abandon her. But Heston--whose image is clearly that of the strong, free-willed (and bachelor!) soldier-of-fortune--suddenly reins in his horse and stops near where the little girl is standing. The camera, after focusing on the look of fear and despair in the child's eyes as she thinks her American "daddy" is going to ride away, swings to Heston who, in a grand, heroic manner, reaches down to the little girl and says, "Here, take my hand. . ." The final shot shows the child's expression changing to absolute rapture as she is lifted up into the saddle with Heston.

To use this scene in starting a discussion of the film, try stopping the projector after the credits and the background have been shown once; rewind the reel to the start of the credits (maybe 30-40 seconds) and run it through again after telling the students to pay close attention to this last part (many may have tuned out after the narration ends and missed the scene altogether). Alternatively, if the person showing the film is familiar with this final sequence, that person can stop the film just after the narration has finished (". . .Maybe we can leave it all behind.") and the camera focuses on one of the comic pulp magazines. This precedes the credits and the "55 Days at Peking" scene. At this point and before restarting the projector, ask the students to remain in their seats and to pay special attention to the background scene of the credits.

By asking the students what the producer means by using that particular sequence as a background for the credits, you can get a good indication as to whether they really understood the message of the film. The Heston scene is a beautiful symbolic statement of an important aspect of the historical American attitude (i.e. paternalism) towards China and can be used to begin a class discussion of that topic.

Some possible questions relating to this final part of the film are: What image of China and the Chinese is presented by the scene? What image of America? How have these images and attitudes shown up in the history of U.S.-China relations, e.g. in the missionary movement, in the effort to secure trading rights, and in military alliances and conflicts? What does the fact that much of our historical relationship with China was carried on through missionaries, merchants, and marines say about the nature of that relationship? Did the strong influence of paternalism and "superiority" on American attitudes toward China contribute to the sense of anger and disappointment many Americans felt when China emerged from her revolution a strong and independent nation? Had the "child" slapped the "parent" in the face? What role did these attitudes play in the feeling that America had somehow "lost" China?

## FOLLOW-UP DISCUSSION OF "MISUNDERSTANDING CHINA"

The objective of the follow-up discussion is to fill-out and expand the previous discussion of the causes and effects of stereotypes by making use of the historical and impressionistic material presented in the film and by involving students more actively and concretely in exploring the genesis and development of their own images of the Chinese and other racial/political groupings. Following are some suggestions which the teacher might use to start a follow-up discussion.

### Media and Stereotypes

What images of Chinese and Chinese-Americans are portrayed in the mass media? One of the most popular television shows in the United States was "Kung Fu" (really pronounced Gong Fu). Students are generally familiar with this program and are well-prepared to discuss the image of the Chinese as shows by Caine, the hero of the show. (It might be pointed out that, as in the case of Charlie Chan, the actor who plays Caine is not Chinese!) Qualities like all-knowing (the Confucius-syndrome), inscrutable (quiet, yet deadly), and patient are easily recognizable and can lead to a fruitful discussion of media images of the Chinese. And, needless to say, Caine's story is hardly illustrative of the lives and experiences of the Chinese in the American West in the 19th century.

The current craze of martial arts movies (e.g. "Five Fingers of Death") can be cited not only as building up a certain stereotype of the Chinese, but also as a debasing distortion of the use and meaning of the martial arts themselves. In these movies, kung fu, karate, judo, kenpo, etc. are usually depicted only as methods of death and destruction and are robbed of their spiritually and physically salutary aspect, as well as their aesthetic meaning (Who took the "art" out of martial arts?).

The scene from "55 Days at Peking" might be a good place to start a discussion of media images of China and the Chinese. The students or teacher may themselves be able to recall other examples of stereotypes of Asians which have appeared on TV or in print (e.g. "Hawaii 5-0"; 7-UP,

M*A*S*H, or the mini-series, Shogun) Are Asians presented in a uniform fashion? How much variety is there in the roles that Asians play? Are our images undergoing a change at the present?

2. Combating Stereotypes

After a discussion of the general problem of media and stereotypes, the class might move on to a consideration of how to overcome stereotypes. What reliable sources are there for information and images of China? One possible extended project would be to divide the class in some fashion and have students from different groups examine different media: newspapers, TV news, weekly magazines, etc. to evaluate and compare the information available to Americans. Alternatively, the class might simply discuss the sources which they are familiar with from past experience.

## PART II: CHINA AND THE WEST: A BRIEF COMPARISON

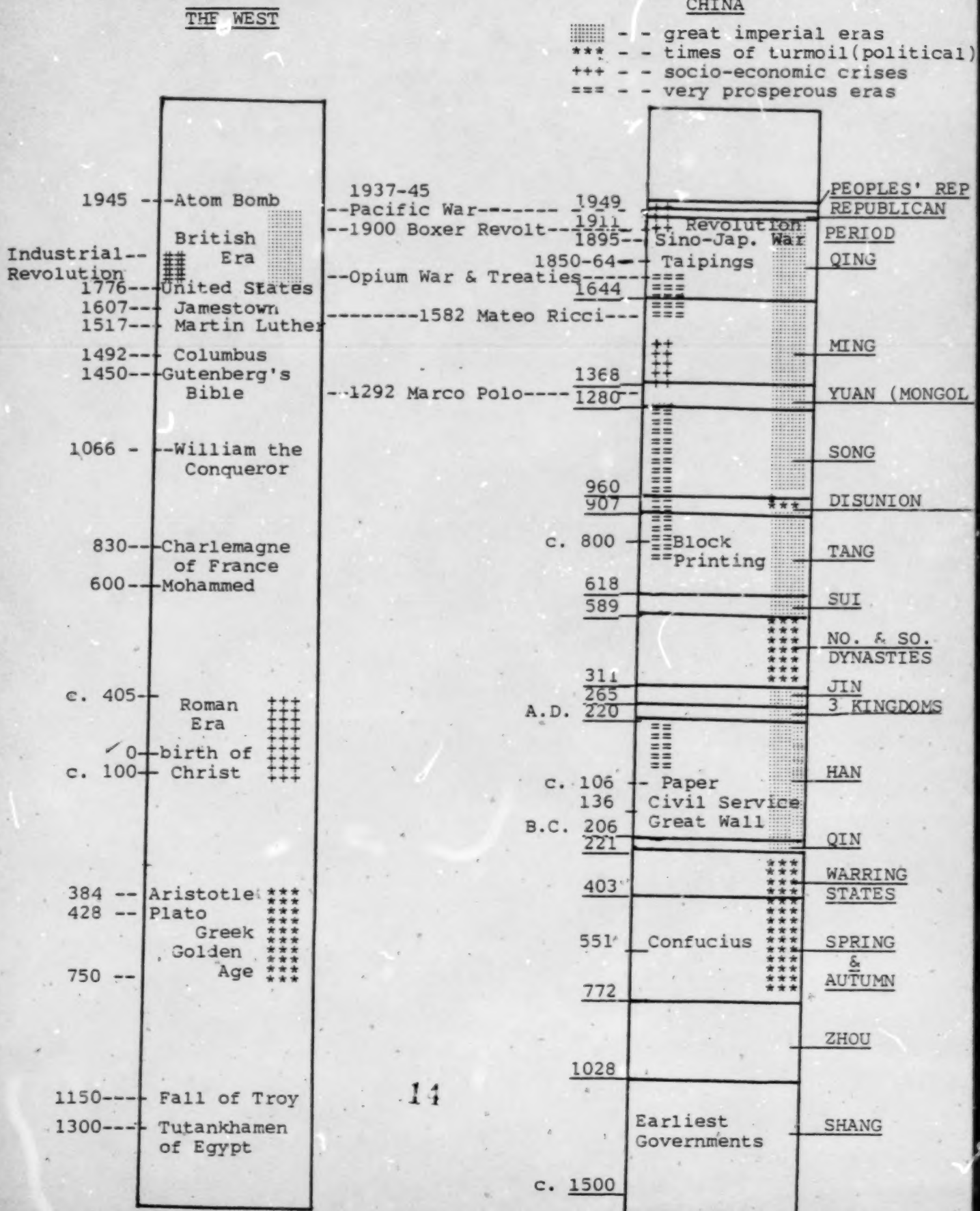
### Teachers' Introduction

In Part II, we are utilizing a comparative timeline and a series of maps to quickly sketch out some of the most important aspects of Chinese history. We hope that these visual aids are suitable for reproduction at your school. If not, we have indicated the sources for you; all are from easily accessible text books and atlases. The chart and maps should be distributed to the students as a reference source on Chinese history.

Section A of Part II outlines in a comparative fashion the development of Chinese and Western civilization. There are maps with accompanying explanations and one timeline with accompanying explanations. Section B describes some basic features of the traditional Chinese approach to foreign relations with graphic illustrations of the disruptions to that system that was brought about by the foreign encroachments of the 19th and 20th centuries.

In both sections of Part II, the teacher may use either a direct approach or an inquiry approach, depending on time or circumstances. By an inquiry approach, we mean that the teacher could distribute the graphic materials to the class, but hold on to the explanations for a while. The teacher and the class could work through the materials together, with the teacher asking questions in an effort to make the students analyze the maps and draw their own comparisons. Of course, all of the information that we wish to give to the students is not readily apparent, but much of it is. For example, the teacher might ask the students to describe the differences between industrial development in China and the West, based on the information in the timeline. While the Industrial Revolution is clearly marked on the Western side, there is no comparable development in late imperial China. What observations can the students make on the basis of this difference? Similarly, the teacher might ask the students to differentiate between the geography of China and Western Europe. Some notable differences are the broad plain of Northern Europe that facilitates communication and the crisscrossing pattern of mountains in China that hampers communication.

Alternatively, the teacher can pass out the graphics and the descriptive material together, and allow the students to draw on both sources to answer questions posed by the teacher comparing the development of China and the West. If there are serious time constraints, the teacher might pass out all of the material and instruct the students to study it, alone or in groups, as an out-of-class assignement, to be followed by a discussion of the comparative development of East and West at the next class.


THE WEST
CHINA
▒▒ - - great imperial eras
*** - - times of turmoil(political)
+++ - - socio-economic crises
=== - - very prosperous eras
1945 --Atom Bomb
British Era
Industrial-- ## Revolution ##
1776--United States
1607--- Jamestown
1517--- Martin Luther
1492--- Columbus
1450--Gutenberg's Bible
1066 - --William the Conqueror
830---Charlemagne of France
600---Mohammed
c. 405-- Roman Era
0--birth of
c. 100-- Christ
384 -- Aristotle
428 -- Plato
Greek Golden Age
750 --
1150---- Fall of Troy
1300---- Tutankhamen of Egypt
1937-45
--Pacific War------
--1900 Boxer Revolt--
--Opium War & Treaties------
--------1582 Mateo Ricci---
--1292 Marco Polo----
1949
1911 Revolution
1895-- Sino-Jap. War
1850-64--- Taipings
1644
1368
1280--
960
907
c. 800 --Block Printing
618
589
311
265
A.D. 220
c. 106 -- Paper
136 Civil Service
Great Wall
B.C. 206
221
403
551 Confucius
772
1028
Earliest Governments
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PEOPLES' REP
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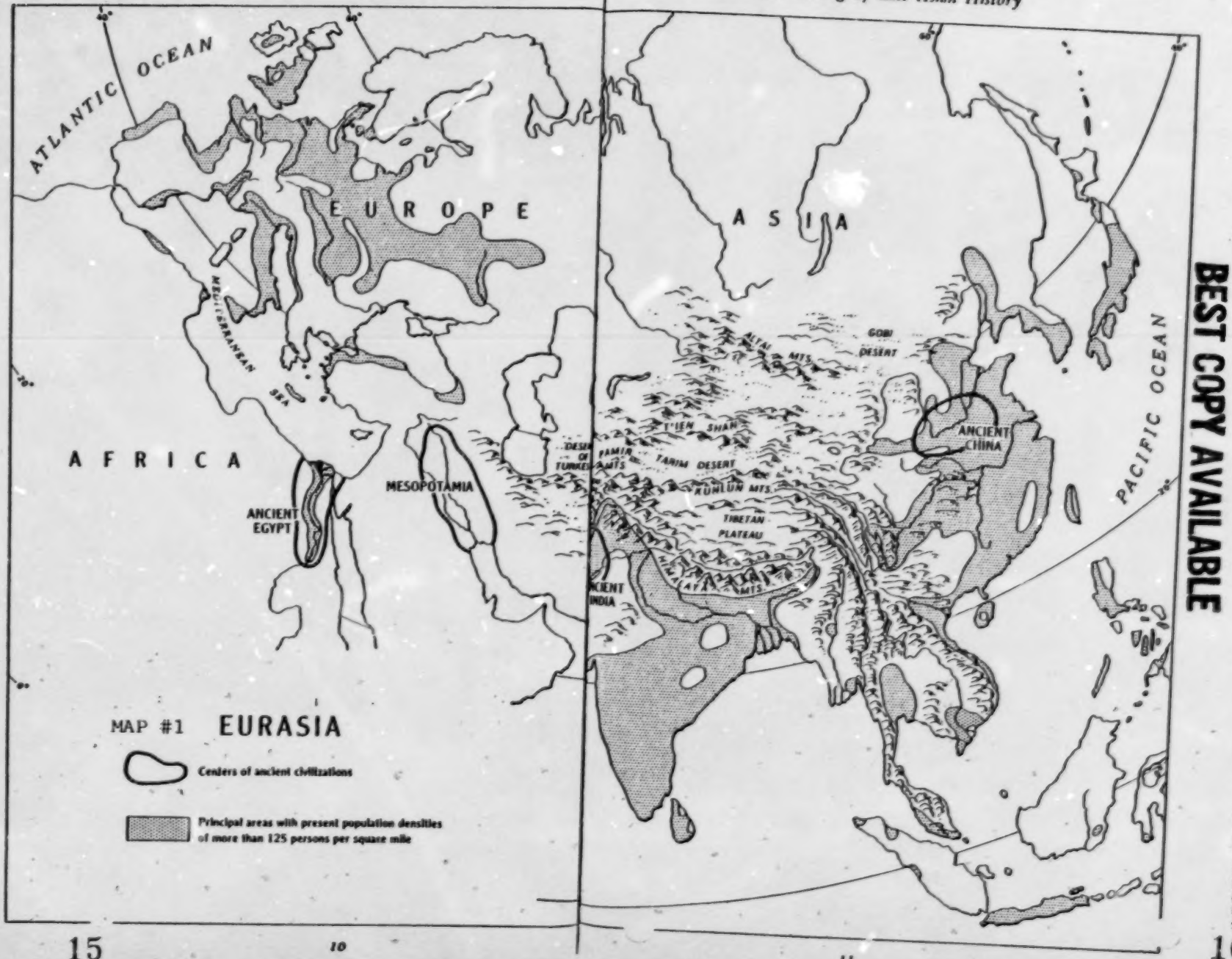


MAP #1 EURASIA

Centers of ancient civilizations

Principal areas with present population densities of more than 125 persons per square mile

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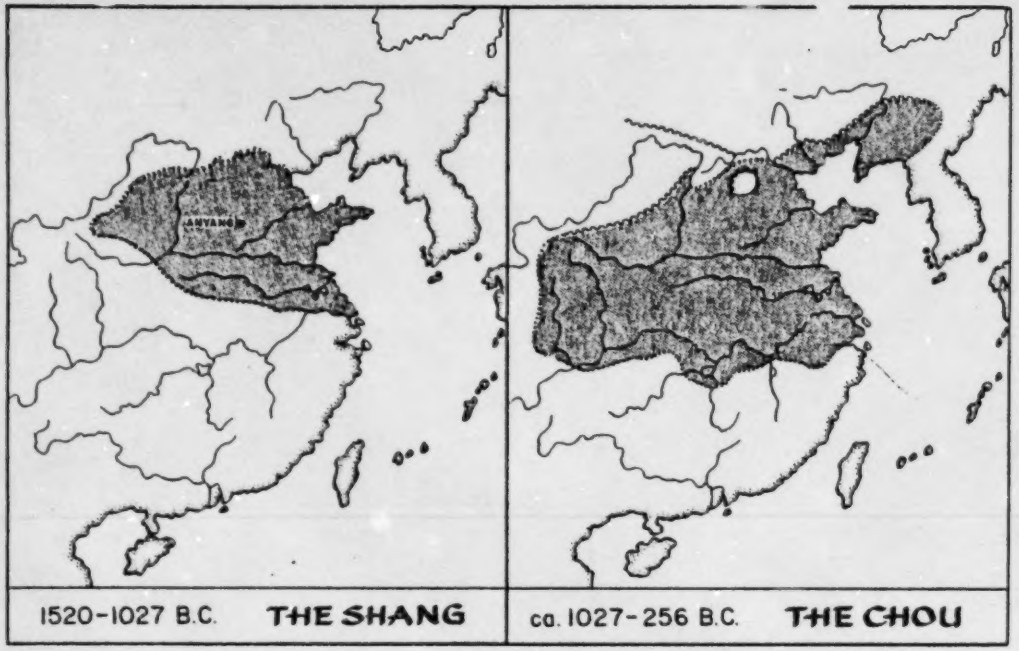
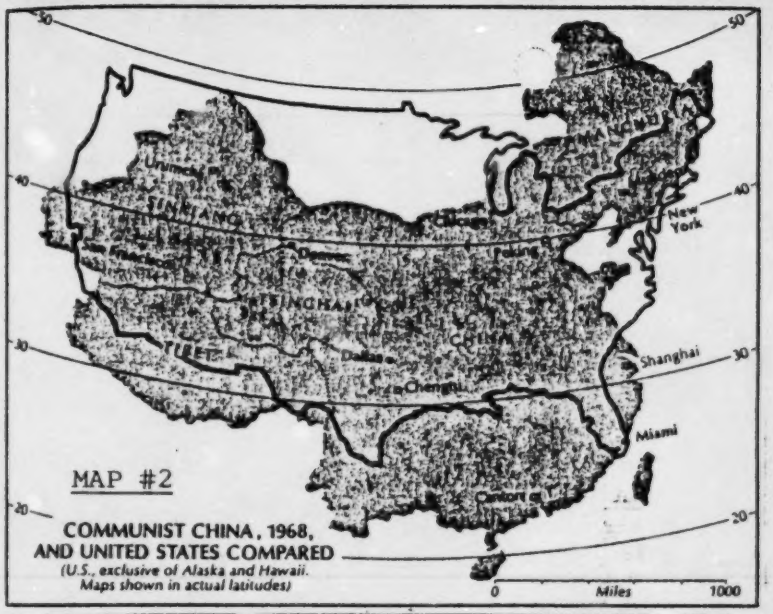
CHINA: GREAT PERIODS IN HISTORY




1520–1027 B.C. **THE SHANG**



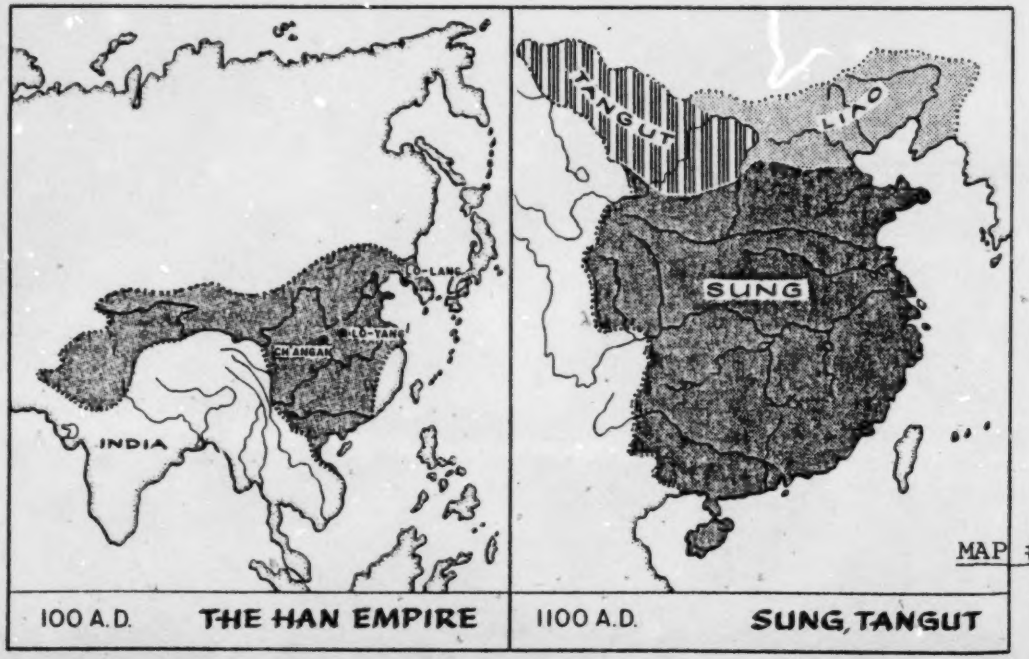
ca. 1027–256 B.C. **THE CHOU**




MAP #2

COMMUNIST CHINA, 1968, AND UNITED STATES COMPARED

*(U.S., exclusive of Alaska and Hawaii. Maps shown in actual latitudes)*




100 A.D. **THE HAN EMPIRE**




1100 A.D. **SUNG, TANGUT**

MAP #3: CHINA'S GROWTH

THE EMPIRE AT THE TIME OF THE MANCHU (CH'ING) DYNASTY (1644–1912)

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## Notes for Timeline/Map Exercises

A. General Observations

1. Looking at the timeline, one can see that the history of China is characterized by much greater political and cultural continuity than Western society. The standard framework for Chinese history is the progression of dynasties from about 1500 B.C. until 1911. Historians of China often refer to an analytical tool called the "dynastic cycle" to explain the recurring pattern of growth, prosperity, decline, unrest and revolt. This pattern seemed to be the fate of almost all dynasties. But, each time a dynasty fell, its successor adopted many of the same institutions, ideals of government, and philosophical beliefs. In contrast, one sees that Western civilization moves around the landscape of Europe and America. The great age of Greece is followed by the great age of Rome. Later, there are periods of French domination and of British domination. In the last few centimeters of our timeline of Western civilization, we see the emergence of a new Western country, the United States. Contrast this with the enduring tradition of China. Contrast also the length of recorded history and the nearly total lack of contact between China and the West until most recent times.

2. Map sheets 1 and 2 illustrate some of the above points. We see in the first map the great distance between China and Europe and the barrier created by the towering Himalayan mountains and the vast deserts of Central Asia. The regions of Outer Mongolia, Sinkiang, Tibet and Tsinghai are desolate and sparsely populated in comparison with southeastern China. Note also the uninterupted plain of northern Europe which facilitates communications and transportation among the states of the West. China, on the other hand, is crisscrossed with mountains that make both travel and communications more difficult. This is one reason that the society and economy of China, although being closely bound to the culture of China as a whole, have displayed many regionalized attributes. Map sheet 2 illustrates the growth of that culture from the small region of northern China to the far reaches of Sinkiang by the 19th century. Observe how this process of growth has expanded out from the same center over fifteen or twenty centuries.

B. Specific Observations

551 B.C.--Birth of Confucius Confucius and his followers were very important in shaping Chinese society. Living in an age of political turmoil, the Confucians developed a philosophy that stressed the importance of harmony in society and politics and the essential equality of all people in their innate qualities.

The great Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle lived at almost the same time. Like Confucius, they were important contributors to the nature of their society. Unlike Confucius, they stressed theories of knowledge, metaphysics and the use of reason rather than codes of social conduct.

214 B.C.-- Completion of the Great Wall of China This 1500 mile series of walls and passes would stretch from New York to Kansas if it was in this country. It was originally designed as a barrier to the tribes of central Asia. Although invaders have successfully breached the wall-and sometimes even established ruling dynasties like the Yuan (Mongol)- the wall stands as a symbol of China's relative isolation from Western civilization until the recent past.

approximately 136 B.C.-Civil Service Exams The United States introduced civil service exams in the 1880's; China began such a system nearly two thousand years earlier. Over the years, the system became more important for picking the officials who would run the vast Chinese empire. Since the exams stressed comprehensive understanding and memorization of the Confucian classics, the system fused a link between the philosophy of proper social relationships and the manner of government. Especially in provincial and county matters, the government functioned on a personal level; there was little emphasis on legal codes.

approximately 600 A.D.--Block printing The Chinese began printing hundreds of years before the West. Note Gutenberg's Bible in the 1450's. This early development of printing may be taken as one indicator of the importance of the written language in China. With a governmental system that stressed the literary qualities of its officials, with a huge empire containing several mutually unintelligable spoken versions of Chinese, the writing system was of great importance. In contrast to the West, Chinese writing employs thousands of characters that represent ideas or stylized pictures of some subject. Chinese does not employ an alphabet. The characters give almost no indication of sound or meaning that one can rely on. As a shortcut to learning Chinese, Westerners have used several systems of romanization-- representing in Western alphabetic form the sound associated with Chinese characters. A rather cumbersome system devised by missionaries a century ago--the Wade-Giles system-- is being replaced by a system developed by the Chinese themselves called Pinyin. Some of the most important differences between the old system and the present are listed below.

| Wade-Giles | Pinyin | Examples (W-G) | (Pinyin) | sounds like |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| p | b | pai | bai | buy |
| p' | p | p'eng | peng | pŭng |
| t | d | teh | de | dŭ |
| t' | t | t'ai | tai | tie |
| k | g | ke | ge | gŭ |
| k' | k | k'ai | kai | kī |
| ch | zh | chi | zhi | jer |
| ch' | Q | ch'ing | Qing | ching |
| j | r | jih | ri | rir |
| ts | z | tseng | z | zung |

Mao Tse-tung — Mao Zedong
Teng Hsiao-p'ing — Deng Xiaoping

8th to 13th centuries A.D.--sustained growth within the traditional economic system and the fields of science and agriculture Although Chinese science and technology did not advance to the point of inventing internal combustion engines or chemical fertilizers, the Chinese did make notable advances within their traditional economy. During this time period, they invented mechanical pumps, cotton gins, gunpowder for explosive uses and sophisticated techniques for rice-growing.

1433--end of the navigator Cheng Ho's explorations During the Ming dynasty, there had been substantial trade and exploration in the Pacific and the Middle East. Although Chinese contact with Asian neighbors did not end in 1433, there is a decline in travel outside of China after this time. In part this reflects government restrictions and attempts to control or tax such voyages. In part it reflects a type of inward-turning of Chinese culture at that time. Note that the Chinese explorations end at the very time that the Europeans are about to embark on their great age of exploration.

13th to 15th centuries--population growth and other pressures lead to a period of stagnation and decline Having developed the traditional economy and agricultural systems to the limits that were possible without a great change in the sources of power available, China had one of the most productive traditional farming systems in the world around 1300 A.D. But, as the pressures of expanding population and dwindling surpluses of land and natural resources became more critical, innovation became more difficult. China was in a sense "trapped" in a productive traditional economy without the impetus to move into a modernized one.

1582--Jesuit missionary Mateo Ricci journeys to Macao Ricci and other Jesuits won the respect of the Ming court at this time. A few years earlier, Portuguese merchants had won the right to set up a trading station at the city of Macao, in the vicinity of Canton. Unfortunately, rivalries within Chinese politics and conflicts within the Catholic Church seriously diminished the Jesuit presence by the mid 17th century.

1850-64--Taiping Rebellion Perhaps the bloodiest conflict in modern history, the Taiping Rebellion rocked southeastern China for nearly 15 years. The acceleration of social, economic and demographic pressures contributed to this upheaval which attracted a wide variety of people who blamed the government and the social system of China for their misery. This sprawling rebellion is the most vivid illustration of the declining vitality of the Qing dynasty and of the Confucian-imperial system in general.

1895-96--The Sino-Japanese War A conflict over influence in Korea led to war between China and Japan that quickly illustrated the military impotence of China in comparison to modernised forces like those of the Japanese or the West. This defeat

at the hands of another Asian country was a great blow to the Chinese.

1911--First Republican Revolution The imperial system toppled in 1911 as dissidents rose in numerous provinces to revolt against a system that seemed to exaccerbate the problems of the people instead of alleviate them. The normal downturn that was commonly associated with the end of a Chinese dynasty was made worse by the difficulties which China had in dealing with the West. The 1911 revolutionaries were only partially prepared to assume the responsibilities of government. Their philosophies of government and society were as yet inadequately developed. Their base of popular support and their real military and political power were in fact very limited. Although the consensus on where China was going had not been formed, there was a consensus that the old system was no longer adequate nor even strong enough to sustain itself.

1924-1927--Second Republican Revolution Under the leadership of Jiang Kai-shi (Chiang K'ai-shek) a combination of nationalist, communist and other forces succeeded in restoring a large degree of national unity after the period of localism and warlordism that followed the 1911 revolt.

1937-1945--Pacific War During the 20th century, Japan was expanding at a rapid rate in comparison to China. Economic motives, and fear of Russian penetration of East Asia prompted the Japanese to disregard world opinion and pursue its destiny in Asia at the expense of the Chinese. The Japanese occupied Manchuria in 1931 and the Chinese were too weak to throw them out. Japan whittled away at Chinese control throughout the 1930's until in 1937 actual war broke out. This conflict expanded in to the Second World War with the German alliance with Japan and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

1949--Communist Revolution Drawing on Communist theories of rapid development and anti-imperialism, as well as Chinese nationalism, pragmatism, and support of and for the peasants of China, Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) forged a successful revolutionary movement which swept the Guomindang government off the mainland in 1949. This is the most significant change in the political and social organization of China in over two thousand years. While there are undoubtedly important aspects of traditional Chinese values that continue to be important, the Communist era has witnessed the most thorough and coherent implementation of a new system of government and society since the days of Confucius.

B. OBSERVATIONS ON CHINESE FOREIGN RELATIONS

Map #4: China and the Barbarians--Foreign relations were relatively unimportant in the development of traditional China. As the timeline indicates, there were long periods of governmental stability, economic growth and a Confucian social system that functioned relatively well. The Chinese were a self-contained society, confident in the superiority of their culture and somewhat disdainful of the outside world. Except for the few expeditions to the South Pacific, against Japan and along the shores of the Indian Ocean, China had almost no contact with the world beyond its borders. They saw no reason for it.

Most of the contact which the Chinese had with outsiders was confined to ritualized relations with neighboring states like Viet Nam and Korea. There is no doubt that the Confucian culture of China dominated East Asia. Thus, it is understandable that China looked on its neighbors as inferiors who were fortunate enough to bath in the glory of China. The system of foreign relations reflected this sense of superiority. Instead of open borders and free trade--features that would become the hallmark of foreign relations in the West--China restricted all contact with its neighbors. On certain occasions, delegations from the "tributary states" around China were allowed to bring gifts and items for trade into China. This tributary system was the basic structure for Chinese foreign relations almost until the twentieth century. It conformed with the Confucian ideals that asserted that harmony was achieved when everybody maintained their proper place and showed deference to those who were in a superior position. In the international arena, China was the great "Middle Kingdom" all others were merely barbarians. You will note that Marco Polo went to China, having heard of the greatness of its culture; there is no similar interest on the part of the Chinese to visit Europe. How might this system affect China's later encounter with the British and Americans? Theoretically, what is the relationship between nation-states in the West?

Map #5: China's Premodern View of World Geography--As you think about Map #4, these examples of China's view of Europe should give you some hints. Why do you suppose the Chinese did not try to learn more about the world, so they could spread the benefits of their civilization far and wide? Does their contentment to stay at home give you any ideas for comparing East and West?

Map #6: The Opening Wedge--Canton At the repeated request of European traders, the Chinese government finally allowed the establishment of a trading community at the southeastern port of Canton. At the beginning, the Chinese thought that these barbarians from the West might be like all the others--susceptible to the influence of Chinese culture. If not

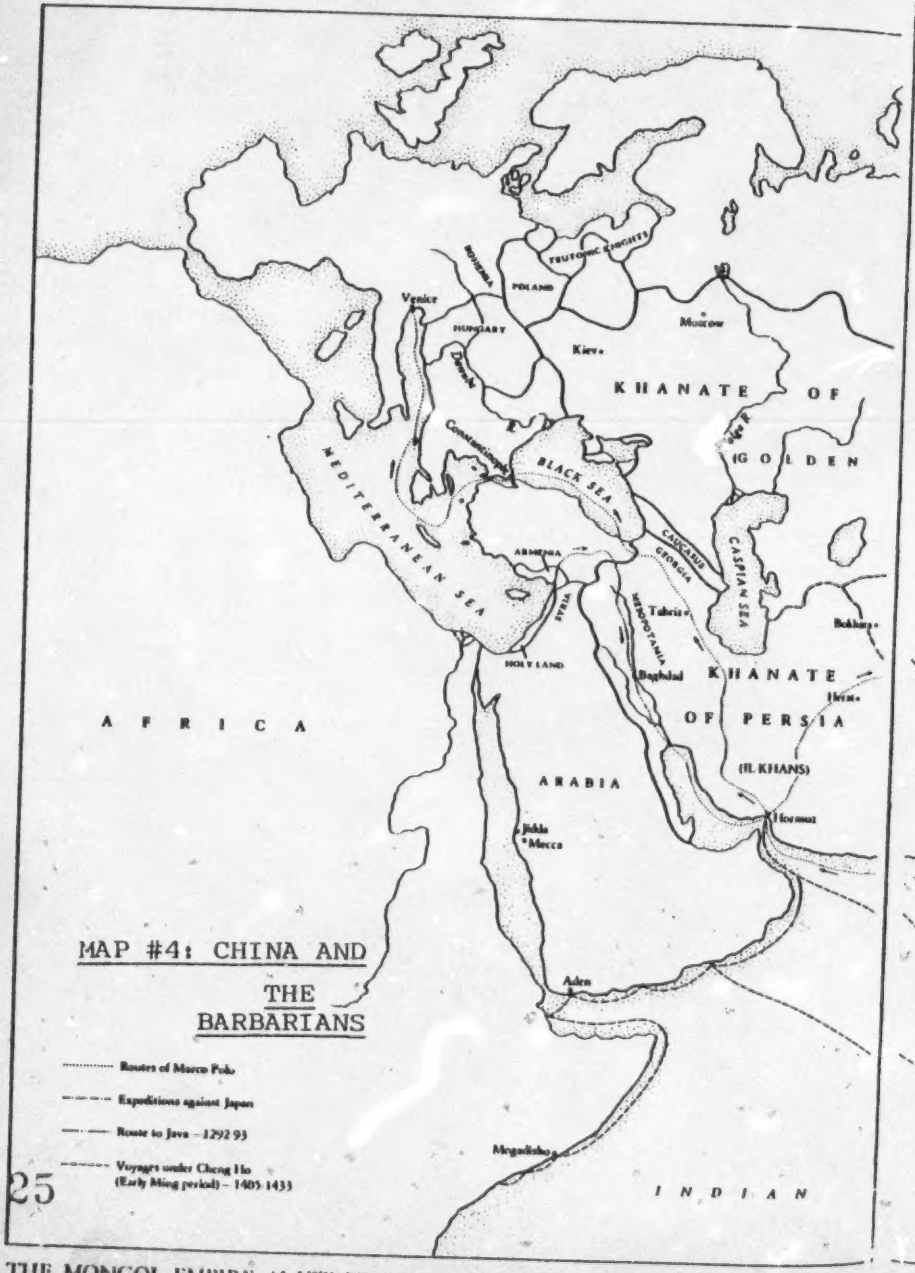
envious, the Europeans would surely be at least awed and respectful of the greatness of the Confucian state. But just to be sure, they segretated the foreigners in a small settlement where they maintained warehouses and offices. There were no diplomatic relations; indeed there was almost no contact with the government beyond the municipal level. Note that this original enclave is no more than a few hundred yards square.

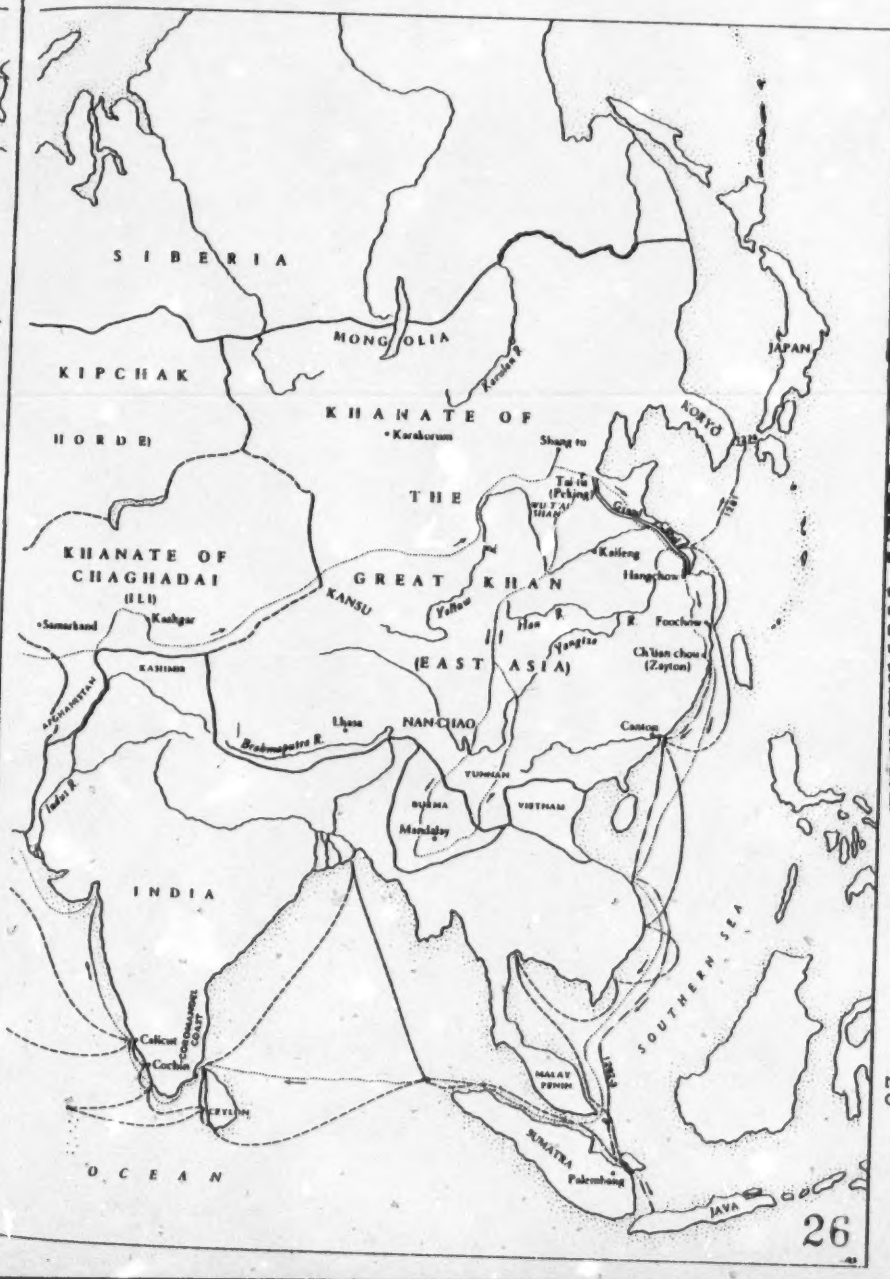
Map #7: The Opium Trade The Chinese and the foreigners dissapointed each other. Foreigners showed no respect for Confucian culture; Chinese displayed little interest in the goods which the Europeans brought to sell. By the early 1800's, however, the merchants from London had found one commodity for which there was a ready market: opium. As this map illustrates, the rapid expansion of the drug trade carried a corrosive influence right into the heart of the "Middle Kingdom". How would you account for the popularity of opium? Do any features of Chinese society give you a clue? Can you relate opium to the fact that the Qing dynasty--and the whole imperial system-- were entering their final stages in the nineteenth century?

Map #8: "Like five fingers clutching at the throat of China" This is the way that one historian described the original five treaty ports that the Chinese were forced to open to the foreigners after the Opium War. In each of the settlements, there was a foreign enclave like Canton. In Map #8, the original five ports are underlined; more were added in the following thirty years.

Map #9: More treaty Ports, and more Foreigners--Originally, the Chinese had planned to segregate the foreigners in order to minimize their impact. But the Westerners turned this idea around, demanding more and more treaty ports, and a new type of privelege--foreign concessions. These were usually strategically located ports that various Western countries appropriated from a weak Qing government by means of treaties that were practically extortion.

Map #10: The Ultimate Treaty Port--Shanghai This map shows the growth of a city which was more a product of the Western impact than any other. Shanghai was a relatively small fishing town in the 1830's. Its position at the mouth of the great Yangtze river made its location ideal for commerce. The foreigners demanded and received numerous additional areas for their exclusive use up until 1914. Except for the small Chinese enclave, it was a foreign city with Western laws and policemen imported from Great Britain's colony of India. By the 1930's, Shanghai was one of the largest cities in the world. It was the center of foreign investment in China and the base for numerous American and European companies that were searching for the "great China market." How do you suppose the residents of the Chinese community felt about the foreign presence? What would be some of the attractions of Shanghai? What would be some of the bad features?

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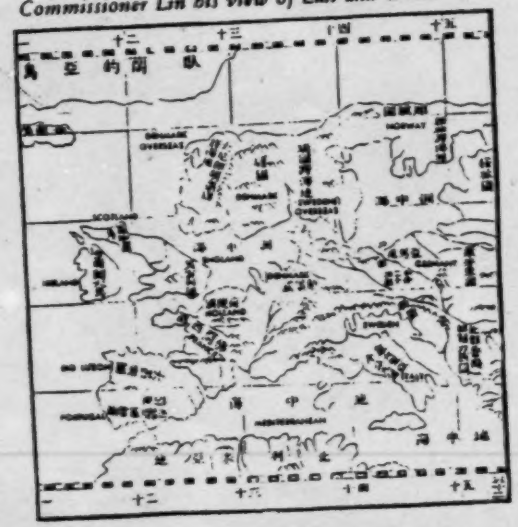
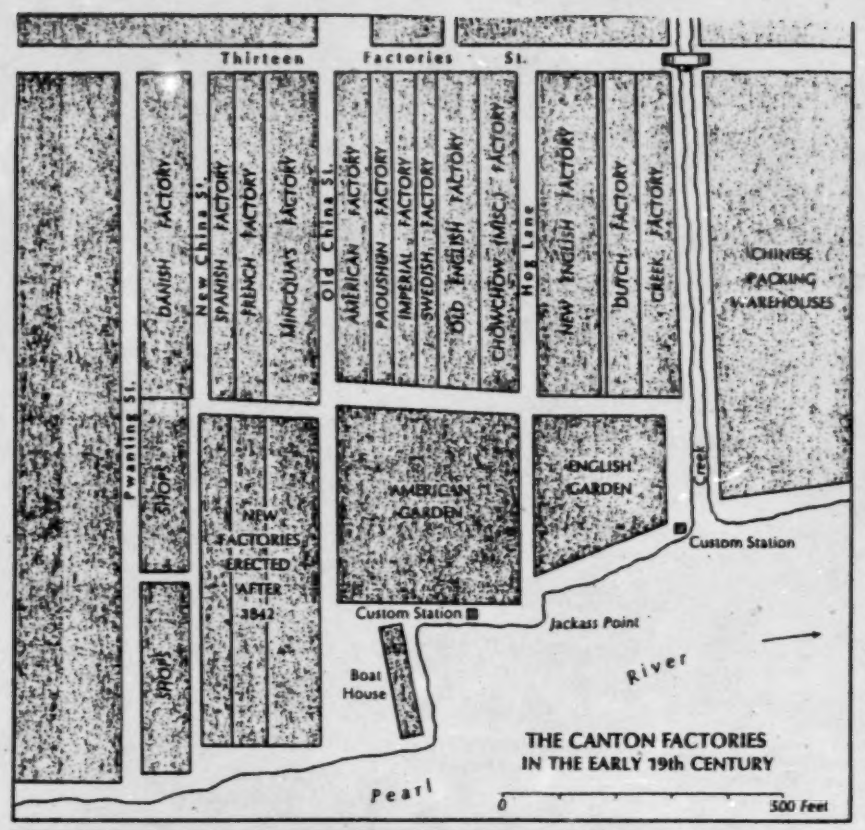
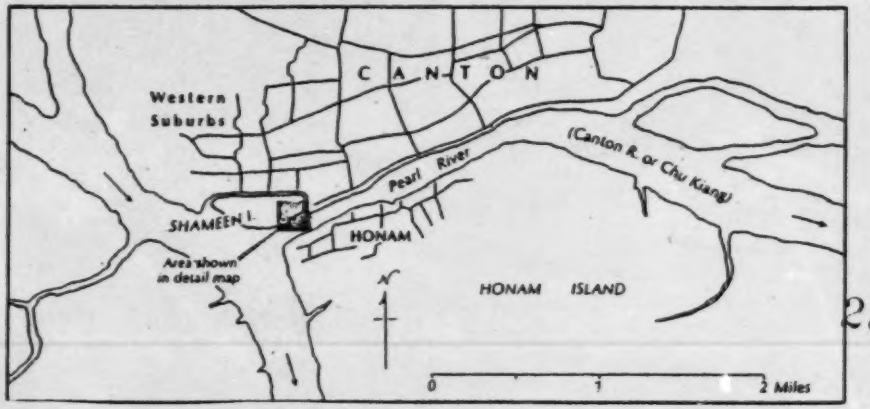
THE MONGOL EMPIRE (LATE THIRTEENTH CENTURY)

CHINA'S PREMODERN VIEW OF WORLD GEOGRAPHY. (English captions superimposed) *Round map is "A General Sketch of the Four Seas," from the widely used* Hai-kuo wen-chien lu, *ca. 1730. Among many anomalies, the Black Sea is labeled "Dead Sea," the Indian Ocean almost disappears, and both places marked • are labeled No-ma ("Rome"). Square map is Wei Yüan's map of Europe from* Hai-kuo t'u-chih, *1844. In it, Germany is "now divided in 24 parts," Italy into "9 countries," England is large and Denmark expanded. "Sweden"* (Shui-tien) *and "Switzerland"* (Shui-shih) *are confused, both being simply "*Shui *country." Such maps gave Commissioner Lin his view of East and West.*



MAP #5: CHINA'S VIEW OF EUROPE




MAP #6: THE OPENING WEDGE: CANTON

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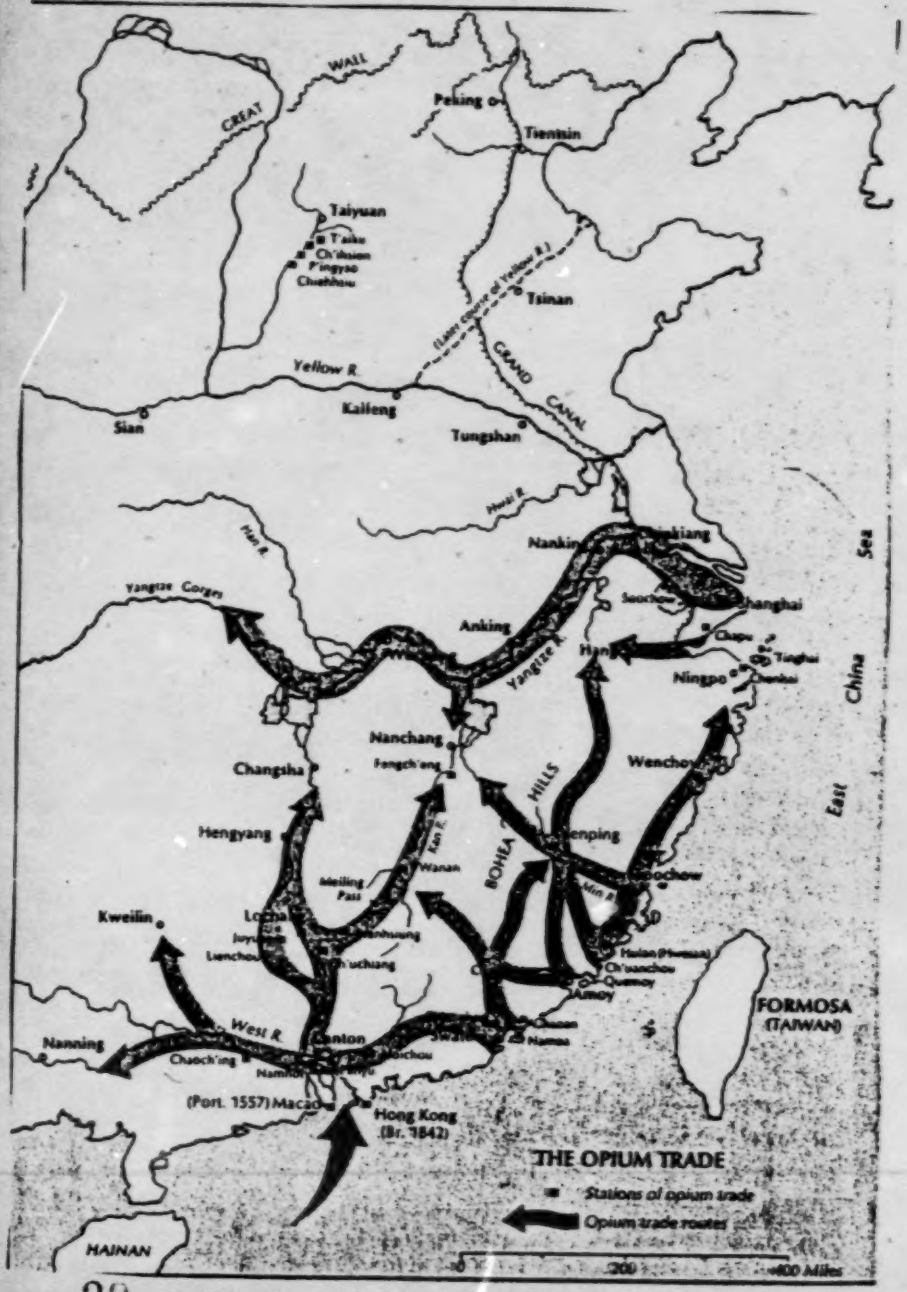
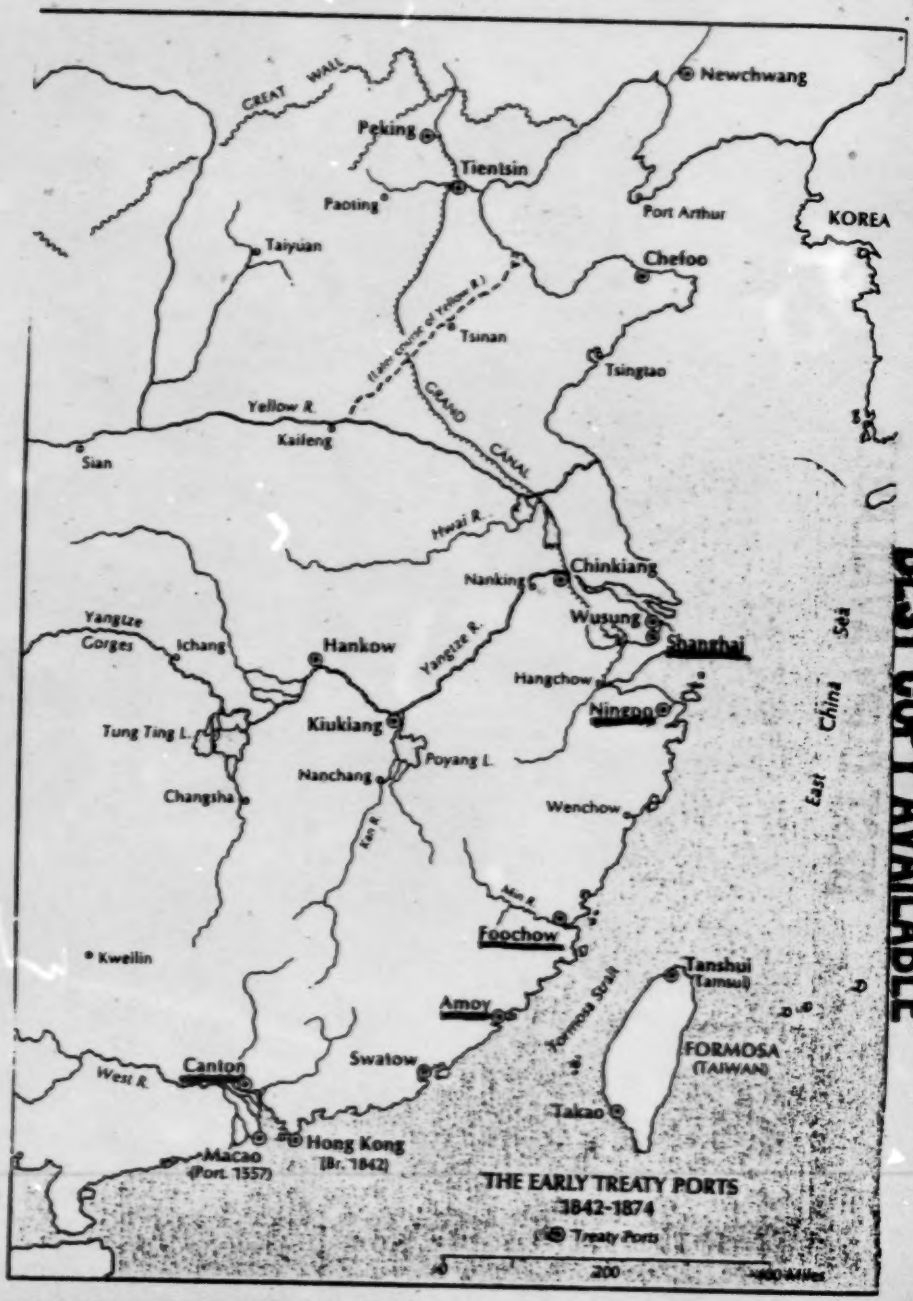



29 MAP #7: THE OPIUM TRADE




MAP #8: "LIKE FIVE FINGERS . . ." 30

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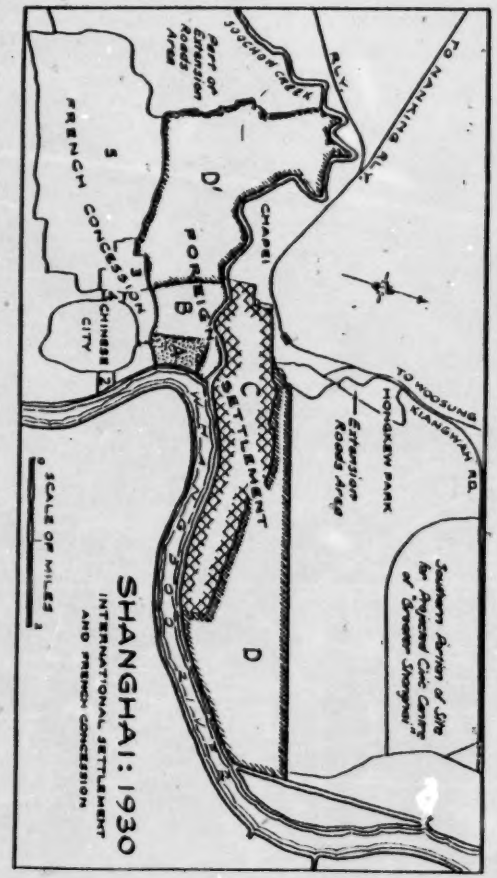
MAP #9: MORE TREATY PORTS, AND MORE FOREIGNERS




A. ORIGINAL BOUNDARIES OF THE FOREIGN SETTLEMENT.
B. EXTENSION OF THE SETTLEMENT BOUNDARIES, 1848.
C. THE "AMERICAN SETTLEMENT." 1863: INCORPORATED WITH THE FOREIGN SETTLEMENT THE SAME YEAR.
D. FURTHER EXTENSION OF THE SETTLEMENT, 1899.
D'. EXTENSION OF 1899:
1. ORIGINAL FRENCH CONCESSION, 1849.
2. EXTENDED, 1861.
3. EXTENDED, 1900.
4. EXTENDED, 1900.
5. EXTENDED, 1914.

THE PROJECTED CIVIC CENTER OF SHANGHAI IS A PROJECT OF THE MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF THE CHINESE CITY.

MAP #10: THE ULTIMATE TREATY PORT

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## PART III: CHINESE-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

### Teachers' Introduction

In this final section, we use a filmstrip to present an account of Sino-American relations. It is a little more detailed than what we have done so far, but not too much so. In fact, the emphasis is on the presentation of major themes and images, not names and dates. The numbers on the left-hand side of the page refer to the frame number of the filmstrip. Usually, that number can be seen in the bottom right corner of the filmstrip frame, but it isn't always visible. The teacher will have to review the film and make sure the script and the frames are kept together.

3. China: The Middle Kingdom--Before the arrival of Westerners, China was a largely successful agrarian society. The people looked back with pride over the nearly twenty centuries of uninterrupted Chinese culture. The growth, peace and prosperity of the 17th and 18th centuries contributed to their self-esteem. This was a vastly different world than Western Europe, but tales of China's splendor reached even to the courts of Italy and Spain, spread by such travellers as Marco Polo.

4. A few European merchants had made the trip to China in the 1500's. With them came Jesuit missionaries. But it wasn't until the 17th and 18th centuries that trading ships came in large numbers. The first recorded American voyage was that of the Empress of China, which sailed from New York harbor in 1784. In these early years, Westerners reluctantly accepted Chinese rules of commerce and contact which restricted the foreign presence to the southern cities of Canton and Macao.

5. The grandeur of late imperial China still dwarfed the foreign presence at this time. Many cities were thriving centers of a traditional economy which linked urban areas with the surrounding countryside. Locally produced food and handicrafts satisfied most Chinese needs. But the foreigners were anxious to tap in to the existing system of trade. They tried to sell fur, sandalwood and some textiles in return for Chinese silk, tea and porcelain. But the foreigners bought more than they sold. More and more, they were travelling to China with cases of gold and silver to buy goods for resale in the West. While this was potentially profitable, a better balanced trade would be more secure and more profitable.

6. But economic motives weren't the only incentives calling foreigners to China. During the 19th century, missionary work came of age. At that time, Christianity was as important a feature of Western civilization as Confucianism was of Chinese. One important difference, however, was that the Christian churches felt a need to spread the Gospel and good works throughout the world. 1809, a British missionary named Robert Morrison became the first to journey to China since the abortive Jesuit presence during the Ming dynasty. In this slide, we see a woman working in a clinic, perhaps like the one established by the American Peter Parker in the 1830's in Canton. For, in addition to their more widely publicized search for converts, missionaries quickly saw the need for a variety of social services in China. Hospitals, schools and even colleges became important elements of the missionary experience.

7. But, despite the presence of missionaries and merchants from the West, the Chinese had little interest in giving up their own traditions. Morrison made only a handful of converts in the thirty or forty years he worked in China. Economic patterns remained basically the same as most Chinese continued to buy Chinese goods.

8. The Westerners and the Chinese were curiosities to each other. Both clung tenaciously to their own ideas of dress, food and social intercourse.

9. Cultural contrasts contributed to difficulties in trade and diplomacy. East and West had decidedly different views of world affairs. For the Americans and the British, two ideas predominated: first, international relations should be regulated by a well-defined system of international law in which all countries were theoretically equal in their rights and responsibilities. Second, unrestricted international trade was both the right of all nations and a progressive feature of a rational world order. It was good for everybody's economy and it helped to foster international friendship.

The Chinese view was much different. First of all, international relations were not relations between equal partners. Rather, China looked at itself as the superior member in a sort of patron-client relationship. At that time, kingdoms in Korea, central, and southeast Asia were considered to be 'vassals' to the Middle Kingdom, required to pay tribute and show homage on a regular schedule. Secondly, the Chinese did not share the Western interest in international trade. China was self-sufficient, and foreigners might bring disrupting influences. Ever since the end of Cheng Ho's explorations during the Ming dynasty, which we mentioned in Section II, the Chinese had turned inward more and more.

10. Westerners created problems for Qing dynasty officials, who were used to deferential treatment, and a common acceptance of the principles of the Confucian world order.

11. For the Chinese system, the proper format of foreign relations was an important symbol of authority and legitimacy, like the badges of rank that adorned the officials' garments.

12. But the Westerners would neither go away nor fully accept the Chinese system. They injected themselves into Chinese life and did indeed cause disruptions.

13. So different in appearance, interests and manners, the foreigners won the unflattering name "foreign devils".

14. The presence of missionaries was an especially complicated matter. At times, they seemed to represent the height of cultural arrogance. Frequently they harangued the Chinese to give up what the Christians considered to be "heathen" practices, such as the veneration of ancestors. The missionaries believed fervently in their own teachings and denied the validity of Chinese ideas. On the other hand, many missionaries were equally involved in good works in which their actions seemed to be more in line with their proclaimed good intentions. While it is quite likely that the vast majority of missionaries went to China with only the best of motives, the effect of their work was diluted by the clash of two successful, but incompatible, world views.

15. The missionaries had a hard time understanding the good aspects of Chinese culture, because of some obvious indications of decay.

16. As the Christians looked at it, they were determined to save the Chinese from themselves.

17. There was undeniably some unravelling of the social fabric in 19th century China. Long years of peace and prosperity led to population growth that put great pressure on the traditional economy. Corruption and conflict between the government and the people was increasing. Civil disorder increased, as did the use of opium, which became a symbol of decay and confusion.

18. But this is not a purely Chinese issue either. British and American traders supplied most of the opium. Although the Chinese had shown little interest in other goods imported by the foreigners, opium was very popular. By the 1830's, it was the mainstay of the foreign trade.

19. As the use and importation of opium increased, the government of China made several unsuccessful attempts to outlaw its use. The retreat of many Chinese, from a variety of social strata, to the shelter of the opium den was indicative of a moral decline to officials. They also feared that China would squander its money on this drug, leading to financial trouble as well.

20. In 1839, the imperial government sent a special commissioner, Lin Zi-shu, to Canton to halt the trade. He destroyed all the opium he could find and threatened the merchants with severe penalties if they continued to supply opium.

21. In addition, Lin wrote a famous letter to Queen Victoria of Great Britain. He asked: "Where is your conscience? I have heard that the smoking of opium is very strictly forbidden in your country; that is because the harm caused by opium is clearly understood. Since it is not permitted to do harm in your own country, then even less should you let it be passed on to do harm to other countries."

22. As Lin surveyed the situation in Canton, his response was that of a traditional Chinese official. Opium smoking could undermine the social order of China; like a good father, he wanted to stamp out this bad habit. The foreigners' disregard for imperial laws against the importation of opium was a slap at the dignity of China and similarly threatened the stability of the nation by disregarding the authority of the government. Lin concluded his letter to Queen Victoria with a plea for the return to the old order, wherein the foreign traders abided by the wishes of the Chinese. He wrote, "Both nations will enjoy the blessings of peaceful coexistence, yours on its side by having made clear its sincerity by respectful obedience to our commands. You will be showing that you understand the principles of heaven." But Lin did not recognize the close ties which existed between the merchants and the British government.

23. Rather than accept the Chinese outlook, the British fought to impose their own ideas regarding international relations. In response to the protests from British trading interests, the Government sent a military expedition to China. The British called Lin's actions an illegal seizure of private property--<u>British</u> private property. They sent warships and soldiers to literally blast open the Chinese ports. Chinese weapons were no match for modern Western arms, and the so-called Opium War was an easy British victory.

24. After the fighting, the British extracted concessions from the Chinese which started a new era in Sino-Western relations--the "Treaty Port" era. If the opium pipe is one symbol of 19th century China, the treaty port is another. These agreements gave the foreigners special priveleges in certain port cities. Canton was no longer the only point of trade and contact. The Chinese opened Shanghai and several other cities. In addition, Westerners won the right of "extraterritoriality", that is, they were outside the jurisdiction of Chinese law. Instead, foreigners were subject to the laws of their own country, as administered by special courts set up in the treaty ports. While the United States did not participate in the Opium War, an American emissary, Caleb Cushing, went to China in 1844 and negotiated the treaty of Wangxia, which granted to the United States all the rights which the British had already taken.

This treaty illustrated a second crucial feature of the 19th century treaties. The United States won the rights which Britain had by claiming "Most Favored Nation" status. By winning such a designation from the Chinese, the Americans were automatically given any rights that any other nation enjoyed in China. In the years to come, all nations would demand "Most Favored Nation" status, allowing all to enjoy the concessions won by any given country. Extraterritoriality and Most Favored Nation status were the two elements that were so important in allowing the foreigners to carve out priveleged positions for themselves in China.

25. Most Western statesmen, including John Quincy Adams, shown here, agreed with the British use of force to open China to expanded foreign trade. From the perspective of the Western international system, it seemed unconscionable for the Chinese to close their markets to foreigners, or to destroy foreign goods, even if the good in question was opium. At its most basic level, the Opium War was a clash of two different ideals of international relations and governmental responsibilities. Western technology allowed the British to force a new system on China.

26. During the following decades, British and French armies fought against the Manchus several times to expand their priveleges. By 1860, the foreigners had control of the system for taxing imports to China. They had opened more cities for trade and won the rights for missionaries to venture further inland in search of converts. The persistence of the Westerners, and their undeniable military superiority, forced the Chinese to make limited accomadations. They signed a series of treaties under duress--known ever since as the "Unequal Treaties". The Chinese also established an early model

of a foreign office in the government, and set up a department concerned with making translations from Western-language books. Among other things, the Chinese used the services of an American missionary, W.A.P. Martin, to translate a commonly used text of international law. Whether they liked it or not, the Chinese were being brought into the Western system of international relations. Some Chinese thought it was a good idea; others believed that the original treaties represented the absolute maximum of concessions that should be allowed. Conflict over this question within the Chinese government made for vacillations in policy. When the Chinese government stood up to the foreigners, the Europeans were likely to respond with force. Hence, the British and French marched on Peking in 1860. Twenty years later, the French went to war again to force the Chinese to recognize French control of Southeast Asia, formerly considered a Chinese vassal state.

Through a combination of force and persuasion, the Chinese entered the Western state system. In the 1890's, the first Chinese ministers went abroad to the capitals of Europe and America. But the transformation was far from complete. Sporadically, Westerners would use force, or threaten force in China. Even if they didn't, the ailing Qing empire was considered more an object of Western diplomacy, than an equal member of the system.

27. After the treaty settlements, foreigners took advantage of their new priveleges to move inland along the rivers of eastern China. Missionaries and merchants came into more frequent contact with the peasant population, although it was still primarily in areas near coastal or river-port cities. These foreigners; these "Strangers at the Gate" kindled suspicion and dislike among many Chinese. This wasn't a uniform, or constant reaction. But it certainly wasn't uncommon either. Sometimes, the peasants' anger was aimed at their own leaders who seemed incapable of dealing with the intruders.

28. At times, the hostility exploded into anti-foreign violence aimed at the most vulnerable: the missionaries and their converts.

29. In the last decade of the 19th century, secret societies sprang up that dreamed of the day when they would push the foreigners out of China. The Boxers were the most important of these groups. They rose up in 1899 and went on a rampage against missionaries and their Chinese associates all along the Yangtze river valley. The Boxers started out as an anti-government society as well as an anti-foreign one. But the rulers of China redirected that sentiment by joining in the anti-foreignism and supporting the attack of the Boxers on the foreign legations in Peking.

30. The foreign powers mounted a joint expedition to lift the seige in Peking. Americans, British, French and Japanese troops led the way from the seacoast to the capital, fighting against Chinese peasants and Chinese soldiers all the way.

But the American response to the chaos in China wasn't purely military. In 1899 and 1900, right in the midst of the Boxer upheaval, Secretary of State John Hay dispatched his famous Open Door Notes to the governments of Europe. He made three cardinal points: first, special privelege in China was a fact. No one should try to do away with them, but no one country should try to expand them at the expense of Chinese, or other foreign interests, either. Second, within the limits set by existing treaties there should be free trade in China with no special priveleges for any one foreign country. Third, all countries should respect the territorial integrity of China. The empire had become weak and many thought the expedition might become a pretext by other countries to carve out their own colonies from China. By his notes, Hay sought to do two things: he wanted to keep the Chinese empire together as a single political entity and he wanted to make sure that other more imperialistic countries (like France or Russia) didn't take advantage of the crisis in a way that cut American business men out of the China market.

To a large extent, the Open Door Policy was motivated by self interest; to a lesser degree it was motivated by altruism. But, for whatever reason, it was elevated in the minds of Americans as a great act of diplomacy and decency. The Open Door Policy became a permanent fixture and a powerful image in 20th century Sino-American relations. In this country, the emphasis was put on the American attempt to prevent other countries from carving up China. Many Americans looked on John Hay as a righteous guardian of the Chinese interests. Many Chinese would be more likely to remember the presence of Americans among the armies that invaded China and bombarded their capital city.

31. But the Open Door Policy wasn't the only new image created in this country. The Boxer Rebellion prompted some Americans to overgeneralize and say that all Chinese were barbarians.

32. Similarly, the execution of the Boxer leaders--demanded by the foreigners--was a bitter humiliation to some Chinese. Coupled with the military expedition, it contributed to the image of an aggressive, militaristic, imperialistic West.

33. During the last half of the 19th century, Americans had received another source of images about the Chinese. Beginning with the California gold rush of 1849, increasing numbers of Chinese workers had been migrating to the United States to work in the mines. They also worked on the great railroad-building projects. Many American employers were happy with this new supply of cheap labor. Not all of it was voluntary, however. Some Chinese were lured, even kidnapped from the port cities to work in America. That is where the phrase "Shanghaied" came from. Among those who did come voluntarily, many planned to return to their homes in China after making some money.

34. The continuing flow of Chinese migration frightened many American workers and small businessmen. The Chinese were unwelcome competition. They were also "different".

35. As this cartoon suggests, Chinese were frequently restricted to servile jobs. But even there, they seemed like a distasteful threat to many Americans.

36. Despite American resentment, some Chinese succeeded in setting up their own shops. Chinese communities took root in cities like San Francisco.

37. The clash of cultures, the enforced segregation of the Chinese and their appearance as a threat to American society prompted one editor to write: "John Chinaman represents an inferior development of mankind. He lives under a shelf and eats merely what will support life in the most economical shape."

38. The press reflected and stimulated bigotry by warning of a massive "yellow invasion". Special taxes were levied on immigrants, depicted here in one newspaper's cartoon as locusts who would bring famine to the American worker.

39. Hostile crowds tormented, tortured and sometimes killed Chinese immigrants. The police and the courts were generally unsympathetic.

40. These injustices outraged more compassionate Americans. Mark Twain lamented the bigotry, remarking that the United States was a two-faced nation. It was the "land of the free--free to all but the Chinese."

41. But people like Twain were in the minority. Between the 1880's and 1900, a series of immigration laws restricted, and then barred, most Chinese migrants.

42. For those Chinese in the United States, life could be very difficult.

43. Chinese, and Chinese communities were the butt of jokes and a source of cruel caricatures. Stereotypes contributed to hostility; hostility contributed to the denial of opportunities.

44. "Chinatowns" were mere curiosities; not communities of fellow citizens.

45. The pulp press capitalized on these images

46. As did Hollywood

47. [No Text]

48. One factor that contributed to poor relations between the United States and China was the lack of official contact and the undeveloped system in both countries for modern foreign relations. Here, we see a photo commemorating one of the rare 19th century meetings between high officials of both governments. President Ulysseus S. Grant is shown with Li Hungzhang, a leading official in Chinese foreign affairs from the 1870's until the turn of the century. But the foreign affairs network was not well defined. Lines of authority and responsibility were confused; Western style ideas were frequently misunderstood or resisted by the Chinese. On the American side, the Foreign Service was still in its infancy. Diplomatic relations were still handled by relatively low ranking officials with little training for service abroad. No American held the rank of Ambassador until 1892. It was not until 1935 that an American holding that rank was assigned to China. Even the meeting depicted here was an unofficial one. In 1879, after retiring from office, Grant took a tour of Asia. He met officials from the Japanese and Chinese governments, and was even asked to mediate a dispute between them, but it was all unofficial. The inadequacy of the structure for foreign relations contributed to poor communications, and misunderstanding. It also made it easier for selfish and uninformed domestic interest groups--like the anti-Chinese forces in the Western United States--to dominate various aspects of the relationship.

49. Aside from the problems of diplomacy, cultural differences helped to keep Chinese and Americans isolated. One Chinese observer in America commented this way: "Just as their language has the sameness of the desert of Gobi, so has their appearance--they all look alike. And their eyes have a peculiar look to them; they lie on a straight line, and are green, blue and sometimes brown."

50. "Some have thick tufts of hair, red and yellow on their faces, making them look like monkeys. Though they look sleepy, I think they have intelligence."

51. One Chinese summed up his report on America by saying: "What is respected in this land is power in all its forms: money, authority, body strength, skill and endurance. If you do not have one of these you do not find much respect or consideration."

52. After the Boxer Rebellion, Western power was an unquestioned reality in Asia; a thorn in the side of the Qing government.

53 In the early 20th century, there was a widely shared belief in China that change--of one sort or another--was desperately needed. The imperial system was clearly dying, despite some half-hearted and ineffectual attempts at modernization and reform. The old order was proving inadequate to the task of ushering China--China with its heavy load of domestic and foreign problems--into the twentieth century. Some looked back through their own history in search for the best methods to ease domestic tensions and repel foreigners. Others, like the soldiers pictured here, adopted some Western ideas about military and political power.

But, before a comprehensive solution emerged, discontent led to rebellion. In 1911, more than two thousand years after its beginning, the imperial system of China toppled. The Chinese spent most of the 20th century trying to replace it.

54. Sun Yat-sen was the proclaimed leader of the 1911 Revolution. He mixed Chinese and Western ideas in his vision of a democratic, modern and respected China. To Americans, Sun was a symbol of hope that his country was on the threshold of modern civilization. He spoke English, had been educated in the West and was a Christian. Although many others have played important roles in China's 20th century revolution, Sun has always enjoyed the reputation of being the leading figure in his country's progress. He appeared to be a liberal minded man who wanted to establish a democratic, nationalistic government for China. His form of change was gradual, modeled on Western patterns and phrased in Western terms. He inspired millions of Chinese and Americans.

55. While Sun Yat-sen and his fellow Nationalists tried to establish a new system of Chinese politics, students and educators were on the threshold of a new cultural era. In 1905, the government had abolished the old Confucian-based examination system. Since the 1870's, missionary colleges like the University of Shanghai or St. John's University, Yale-in-China, and Peking University had been adding an increasingly important Western element to Chinese education and culture. In addition, the United States government returned a portion of the fines levied against the Chinese after the Boxer movement for the express purpose of educating Chinese college students like these so-called "Boxer Indemnity Scholars". The tentative steps which the Chinese had taken--in politics and education--contributed to a popular American image of the Chinese as special wards of the United States. After the announcement of the Open Door Policy, this feeling was even more common despite such problems as immigration quotas and the continuation of the unequal treaties.

56. The image was severely shaken in 1919 by the so-called "May 4th Movement". On that date, Chinese students marched in protest against the treaties ending World War I because part of those treaties reasserted the special foreign priveleges in China. Most importantly, the treaties gave Japan, one of the allied powers in the war against Germany, control of former German interests in China. The Chinese had wanted control to revert back to them, instead of being passed on to another imperialistic power. The students criticized the foreigners for writing such an agreement and their own government for acquiescing to it. The students marching in this slide are calling for unity and patriotism in the face of continued foreign encroachment. May 4th nationalism grew into a much broader attack on imperialism and on those aspects of traditional Chinese culture that had contributed to weakness in foreign affairs.

57. Symbols of the "New China" gained popularity. Here, Chinese author Lin Yu-tang lectures an American audience on the potential of a new China and the importance of American support.

58. American writer Pearl Buck shared Lin's optimism. She wrote many moving descriptions of the people of China. Western critics gave her prizes for her work and professed great sympathy for the Chinese.

59. In the 1920's and 1930's, the plight of the Chinese peasants was one of the causes which attracted a great deal of attention in the United States. But the actual amounts of aid given were not very great. A new Chinese government, controlled by the Guomindang nationalist party emerged in 1927. It did receive some support from the United States, and it did make some limited progress in attacking China's problems. But there was a long way to go.

60. But in 1937, war broke out between Japan and China. Like so many other countries, the Japanese had tried to take advantage of China's weakened state. In the 1930's, when it appeared that China might be strengthening itself, and gaining international respect, the Japanese were going through a difficult period of their own. Like the Chinese, the Japanese suffered from international recism. Unlike the Chinese, Japan was industrialized and interested in world markets and raw materials. Japan's rulers felt that the resources and markets of Asia, including China's, should be controlled from Tokyo. The strengthening of China, and of Russia, worried Japanese expansionists. Taking advantage of the weakness of the West during the Depression, Japan invaded China in 1937, only to become bogged down in a costly and frustrating conflict that widened into World War II.

61. The world was horrified at Japan's war in China. Civilian casualties were high. What little industrial progress that had been made in China's cities was crippled.

62. When American and British protests against Japanese aggression in China and elsewhere led to Pearl Harbor, America and China joined together as allies against Japan.

63. In an effort to cement the alliance, the wife of China's President came to the United States to speak to the people and solicit military and financial aid.

64. She was attractive, intelligent, American educated and Christian. She embodied our most romanticized notions about China. Madame Chiang Kai-shek was a hit.

65. But we were still a world apart. In 1942, ignorance was common. Fewer than half the Americans surveyed could pinpoint China on a map of the world, let alone tell the surveyer much about the history and culture of the new ally.

66. Nor did the Americans know how serious the political struggle was between the Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek and the Communist Chinese movement headed by Mao Tse-tung. In one sense, Chiang was the successor of Sun Yat-sen. He publicly embraced Western style democracy and Christianity. Under Chiang's leadership, from 1927 to 1937, the Chinese had made some progress toward national unity and economic stability. But his methods were brutal. Chiang relied on an increasingly narrow base of support made up of the bankers and business men of the cities and the landlords of the rural areas.

Mao, on the other hand, drew his support from the peasants. In the 1920's, Chiang's new government had driven the Communists out of the cities and forced them to take refuge in the isolated countryside. Over the next ten years, the government hunted the Communists, but Mao and his followers eluded Chiang's armies. In the late 1930's and early 1940's, the Chinese Communist movement gained strength by appealing to the peasants' desires for reform of land and rent laws, and by appealing to nationalist sentiments by taking an early and unambiguous stand against Japanese aggression. Chiang's idea had been to fight the Communists first, and then turn against the Japanese after the domestic situation was settled. But the Communists forced him to change his plans. The two sides claimed that they would put their differences aside for the time being and join in the so-called "United Front" against the Japanese invaders. Despite this claim, there was an important subterranean conflict in China throughout the Second World War. The Communists and the Nationalists expended as much energy fighting each other as they did against the Japanese.

67. Throughout the war, the United States dedicated itself to fighting against the Japanese, and not interfering in Chinese affairs.

68. Gradually, however, fighting Japan became linked to supporting Chiang Kai-shek. President Franklin D. Roosevelt promised that the victory would lead to a strong, united democratic China. Hesitantly, but irreversibly, the American government gave its support to Chiang. In 1937, Time magazine had designated Chiang and his wife as "Man and Woman of the Year" for their resistance to Japan, as it appeared in the United States. This image was played up during the war and was strongly engrained in the American consciousness. It followed naturally that Chiang and his government were the logical recipients of American aid, not the Chinese Communists who were seen by Americans as having strong ties to the Russian Communists. Both of these images--of Chiang as the savior of China, and of Mao as Russia's puppet--were seriously mistaken. But they were persuasive images during much of the 1940's. So American munitions and advisers went to the Guomindang government of Chiang Kai-shek.

69. All the while, however, the peasants of China were joining Mao.

70. Chiang presented himself as the successor to Sun Yat-sen. He got reluctant aid from the United States but Americans were increasingly critical of his corruption and incompetence. No amount aid could save him and Chiang's armies collapsed. In 1949, the remnants of his government fled to Taiwan.

71. The victory of the Chinese Communists marked the beginning of a period of thirty years of hostility, alienation and suspicion between the United States and the People's Republic of China.

72. The rise of Mao's government horrified the United States. The ideal of the special friendship which had been so popular in the 1930's and '40's made the new Chinese attitude incomprehensible. Americans believed that they had done all they could have to help the people of China. Their turn to Marxism stunned many. In the highly charged atmosphere of the Cold War, there was only one explanation for what had happened. Many said that conspiracy, <u>COMMUNIST conspiracy</u> was responsible for the so-called "Fall of China". Senator Joseph McCarthy accused the State Department of being gullible and even treacherous. We had, said McCarthy, sold the Chinese out by not giving more military aid. Foreign Service officers who criticized Chiang's government were called traitors, even they had only spoken the truth. In the early '50's McCarthy carried out a series of Congressional hearings that smeared the government with accusations. He unearthed no real evidence of collusion; he simply proved how powerful a political weapon fear could be. Even if the American government had wanted normal relations with Communist China, the sentiments stirred up by McCarthy and others made that impossible.

73. The fears and the suspicions that McCarthy and his allies conjured up convinced the people that the new Communist government was a monster of the worst kind. The unrest that accompanied the first years of the new regime convinced Americans that Mao was a tyrant and his government a travesty.

74. If there were any doubts about this new image, the Korean war silenced them. In the summer of 1950, North Korean troops poured across the 38th parallel to attack the southern government. The United States went to the aid of the South Koreans and, after harrowing defeats early in the war, managed to push the invaders

back over the border. Excited by their victories, the United States armies resolved to push all the way to the border with China, sweeping communist influence completely out of Korea.

As the Americans closed in, the Chinese pushed the war to a new level, sending thousands of troops south against the advancing armies of General MacArthur. The war settled into a bloody stalemate.

75. It convinced Chinese and Americans that their enemies were positively diabolical. Stories of Chinese "brainwashing" conjured up modernized images of the evil Dr. Fu Manchu.

76. In the West, Mao's reputation slid even further.

77. In the United Nations, America played the leading role in keeping the Communist Chinese government out of that organization. Rocked by the experience of the Korean War, President Harry Truman vowed that "as long as I am President, if I can help it that cut-throat organization will never be recognized by us as the government of China."

78. In 1949, Mao had declared that "the Chinese People have stood up!" He meant that the time of repression, civil war and foreign exploitation were over. Eventhough segregated from the foreign community, the Chinese turned their energy toward the revitalization of their nation. In the 1950's, there was a new sense of unity and progress among the Chinese.

79. But the Korean War brought home to the Chinese the realization that American military force was still part of the Asian environment.

80. As part of their new nationalism, the Chinese attacked the images of the old imperialism. "Hate America Campaigns" were common in the Chinese cities during the war. The tragic events of the 1940's and early 1950's had stoked the fires of suspicion and fear in China and America.

81. When the United States went into Viet Nam, this reinforced the Chinese image of a hostile, aggressive capitalist world.

82. As this map makes clear, the American military presence, when coupled with the policy of diplomatic isolation, made the United States look like the greatest enemy of China.

83. The Chinese always directed their anger at the government of the United States. They said it was the aggressive force, controlled by imperialists, warmongers and capitalists.

84. In a strange way, such an attitude had an element of hope in it. Mao said that the American people were similarly exploited by their government. They were not the enemy, only their leaders. Here was a possible basis for future reconciliation.

85. When the American troops began to pull out of Viet Nam, tensions eased somewhat between the United States and China. The forces of imperialism, in Chinese eyes, were a little further away.

86. At the same time, tension with the Soviet Union was increasing. In the aftermath of the Chinese Revolution, the Western world thought Russia and China would be joined by sturdy bonds of ideology. Instead, friction mounted. The Soviet Union gave little economic support to its Communist neighbor. For centuries, the border between Russia and China had been a subject of dispute. In the 60's, and '70's, disputes became pitched battles over contested territories. And, while many expected Russia to assume the role of domineering parent, Mao demonstrated his determination to be, at the least, an equal partner. Ideological bonds between the two communist countries were not enough to soothe troubled waters.

87. By 1972, Chinese and Americans were ready to explore a new relationship. The United States had tried and failed to use military force to stop Asian communism. China had tried and failed to stand by itself, isolated from the great powers of Eass and West. By the 1970's, both countries could see that it was in their best interest to make a try at normalization.

88. To be sure, suspicions have not evaporated.

89, [No Text]

90. But hopefully, building on real contacts between the people of both countries, instead of stereotypes and hazy images, we can start anew to build a lasting and sensible relationship. Right now, we are at the uncertain beginning of a new era. How it will develop remains to be seen. But if our new relationship is to be better than the old one, it is clear that people in both countries will have to be more open-minded. They will also have to take the time to learn about each other as we really are, not as the image makers pretend we are.

B. Concluding Discussion

1. Throughout these classes, we have dealt with two predominant aspects of Sino-American relations: images and realities. Frequently the images have seemed more important. Why?

2. Let us suppose that the major British import to China in the 1830's had been something other than opium, chicken feathers perhaps. Would we have had a "Chicken Feather War"? Why?

3. Do you think that the treaty ports were all bad, like "five fingers clutching at the throat of China"? Why? Was there anything good about them? Do you think that the major problem with the ports was the economic exploitation of China, or is there something else? Did the treaty ports contribute to Chinese stereotypes (Hint: There was supposedly a sign in the foreigners' park in Shanghai which read "Dogs and Chinamen not allowed.")

4. One of the chief aspects of China's recent history has been rebellion and revolution--the Taipings, the Boxers, the 1911 Revolution, the 1924 Revolution, and the Communist Revolution of 1949. What interest did America have in these events? Did the foreigners play any part in the coming of these upheavals? What should American policy have been in each case?

5. After 1949, the United States and China were almost completely alienated. What features in China's modern history help you to understand why the Chinese Communists wanted nothing to do with America? Why were Americans so repelled by the Communists in China?

6. If you were in charge of American policy toward China, what would you do to build on the fragile beginnings of a new relationship that began in the 1970's? How about if you were a Chinese official with the same Mission?

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